

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

which is rare and hard to get may become intragroup money. In Fiji the teeth of the spermaceti whale are taken as a measure of value and sign of peace. In German New Guinea the bent tusks of a boar are used as money. In California red birds' heads are used in the same way. Trophy skulls of birds and beasts become a store of wealth, and money with which trade can be carried on with neighbors.¹ The first step seems to be to use the predominant article as the third term of reference in barter. Intergroup money is really a ware and so remains, as gold is now; but groups widen as communication improves, and group money gets a very wide range. In intergroup affairs, therefore, the relations sooner become impersonal and mechanical. The things which are best for this purpose become mobile. Some are better as stores of value, others as means of power, others as measures of value. The last are on the way to become money. The others are more like gems. Thus group money arose from property-; intergroup money from trade.

146. Shell and beads. Shells had very great convenience for money and their value was increased by the fact that ghosts dwelt in them. Cowries were early used as money, 2200 of them equaling in value one franc.² They are now losing currency. On Fernando Po bits of achatectonia shells are made into belts and used as currency.³ A far less widespread shell of a sea snail was used in northern Transvaal.⁴ Other cases of the use of shells will be given below. A dress pattern of cotton cloth, seven ells, called a "tobe," is a unit of monetary reference through the Sudan.⁵ Another money in the same region is the iron spade, with which tribute is paid to the petty rulers of eastern Equatoria. The spades are made of native iron and are used upon occasion to cut down the grass.⁶ Expeditions into the Niam Niam territories always have a smith with them whose duty it is to make rings of copper and

iron wire, with a square section, for minor purchases.⁷ The
currency of
beads has greatly lessened wherever more useful objects of
European manu-
facture have become known.⁸ Forms of the lance head are
used to buy a

¹ Schurz, 22.

² Foureau, *D'Algtr au Congo*, 539.

³ Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, 59.

⁴ *Globus*, LXXVIII, 203; *Ibid.*, LXXXII, 243.

⁵ Peel, *Somaliland*, 102.

⁶ Junker, *Afrika*, III, 52; *Iud.*, I, 341.

⁷ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, I, 502.

⁸ Junker, II, 245; *Ibid.*, I, 295.